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Tax refuser freed from U.S. jail

From DAVID GALE

THE Rev. Maurice McCrackin, well known pacifist war-tax refuser, was released from Allenwood, Pennsylvania, Federal Prison Camp on Friday, May 29. Minister of West Cincinnati St. Barnabas Church and director of Findlay Street Neighbourhood House in Cincinnati, Ohio, he had been sentenced in December, 1958, for refusal to pay income taxes.

Maurice McCrackin was met in the Allenwood visitors lobby by several friends. The little group of people were gay as they left the camp yard and Mr. McCrackin exchanged good-byes with the friends he had known so well as fellow prisoners for six months.

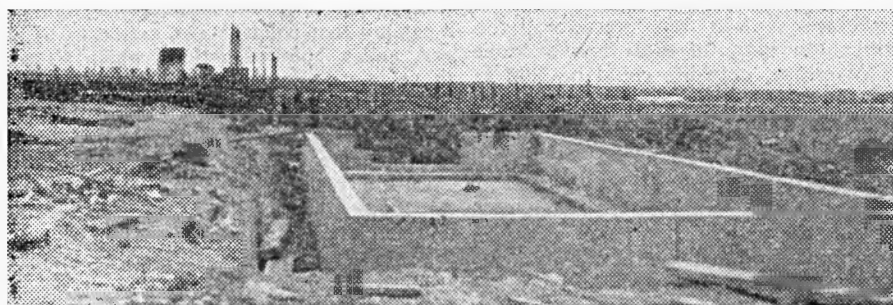
What he left behind was a strange world. Allenwood, situated on several thousand acres of rolling land in northern Pennsylvania, is a farm camp, a subsidiary of Lewisburg Penitentiary, located ten miles away. It was built as a munitions arsenal during World War II. The low-lying frame buildings, drab grey in colour, cover a knoll well away from a main highway.

For six months Maurice McCrackin lived here, taken away from his parish and the neighbourhood house. He spent his work time in the camp kitchen; his fellow prisoners became close friends, just as his parishioners and neighbours have become his close friends over the years.

Until the day before it was not known for sure that Maurice McCrackin would be released on Friday. His regular sentence was finished on April 29. An additional 30 days would cover the fine . . . if McCrackin would sign a pauper's oath. But he would sign no oath nor would he pay the fine, a case for which there is little legal precedent. Several times McCrackin had been threatened with indefinite imprisonment in an attempt to break his spirit.

One was aware that he had just left prison only by the tales he related of prison and his fellow prisoners. For it seems that the entire experience of tax refusal, the personal slander which he withstood, his non-co-operation with tax and court officials, and even his imprisonment were not something unendurable through which he suffered, but something through which he was led by the deep voice of his inner spirit. All along his actions have stemmed from his basic beliefs and have known no conqueror. This spirit has not been broken; it has grown among many.

He returns to his church, where he preached this morning; but he is now only an "extremely interested bystander" at Findlay Street House, for the board of directors has not withstood the pressures that McCrackin himself endured.



A rocket launching pad under construction for a Thor missile at the Catfoss base, Yorks.

H-BOMBS IN SAHARA

Protest campaign launched in Paris

THERE is growing opposition to the French Government's decision to test nuclear weapons at a site in the Sahara reported to be only 12½ miles from a cluster of flourishing oases with a comparatively large population.

In Cairo the Permanent Committee for the struggle against Colonialism in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, confirming its opposition to the division of the world into two opposing blocs, declared:

"We denounce the menace created by the military air and naval bases in Morocco, Tunisia, Lybia, Turkey, Cyprus, Greece and Italy; a menace accentuated by the nuclear missile bases which have been officially announced for some of these territories. These bases are not only a threat to peace, but particularly endanger the peoples among whom they are established. There is a grave danger that they will lead to retaliation by the construction of opposing bases and that our region will be made a battleground for alien Powers and interests.

"A special danger exists that, despite the Geneva talks, the French Government will shortly initiate tests of atomic weapons in the Sahara area of Algeria. We welcome and endorse the declared will of the African peoples to resist this menace to their life and security."

In London and Oxford the possibility of sending a group of people

to the Sahara testing ground is being carefully examined and contact is being made with sympathetic people in Holland, France, Morocco and the USA.

From Paris, Ira Morris, Provisional Secretary of the French Federation Against Atomic Armaments, sends the following report of a meeting, held in Paris to coincide with the London Meeting on "Modern War—A Challenge to Christians."

20-group Federation

She writes:

Since the accession to power of the de Gaulle Government a year ago, every effort has been made to convince the French electorate that the nation's security and pride demanded the development of its own atomic weapons. Vast labour, effort and expense have gone into the manufacture of the nuclear devices that at some unspecified date are to be exploded in the Sahara.

Considering this background, the success of the first public meeting called by the *Fédération française contre l'Armement atomique* is decidedly heartening.

This organisation, formed some six months ago and functioning on roughly similar lines to sister bodies in the West European countries, has been consolidating itself gradually. As its title implies, the *Fédération* groups a number of organisations—approximately twenty—with varying religious and ideological allegiances; either as members or associate members, Catholic and Protestant groups, agnostic and world federalist organisations have become affiliated.

Anxious for facts

The acting president is André Trocmé, organiser of the now-famous demonstration at the Marcoule atomic plant; Professor Kassler, a well-known physicist, is co-president; there is a prominent list of sponsors, among them François Mauriac and Jean Rostand. The headquarters of the organisation are at 59 Rue du Faubourg Poissonnière, Paris.

Due to uncertainty as to popular reaction, as well as to limited finances, the decision was taken to hold the meeting in a moderately-sized hall, the *Salle des Sociétés Savantes*, whose seating capacity is about one thousand. It soon became apparent that the organisers had erred on the side of caution, for many late arrivals had to be turned away. No doubt the distinguished panel of speakers contributed to the meeting's success, but the responsive audience was unmistakable proof that at least a segment of the French public had grown conscious of an alarming situation and was anxious to ascertain facts that had been systematically concealed. Aware now that it can count on a measure of popular support, the *Fédération* is planning to push its campaign with yet greater vigour. A programme of activities for the autumn is already in preparation, which will include meetings in provincial cities in connection with the English anti-Bomb exhibition, "No Place to Hide."



About to be airborne on a recent mission to spot rocket bases are George Dixon, the pilot, and the Secretary and Field Organiser of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, April Carter and Pat Arrowsmith.

Rocket base campaigns

To the Editor.

THE Direct Action Committee is planning two anti-rocket base summer campaigns, and would like to hear as soon as possible from anyone who can take part in them. Both campaigns are scheduled to start on Saturday, June 13, and will continue for about two months. Missile sites will be picketed, residents in the area canvassed, meetings held and trade unions contacted. It is possible that non-violent action may at some stage be taken at one of the sites.

One campaign will be in Suffolk, and will be focused on the rocket base being built at Rattlesden (near Stowmarket) and the bomb storage depot under construction at Sutton Heath (near Woodbridge).

The other campaign will be in the Peterborough-Northampton area. It will be

focused on five secret Thor rocket sites going up, or about to go up, at North Luffenham (near Stamford), Harrington (near Kettering), Langtoft (near Market Deeping), Great Dalby (near Melton Mowbray), and Polebrook (near Peterborough). Rocket bases (not Thor sites, but possibly control centres for them) are also being built in the area, at Woolfax (beside the Great North Road just north of Stamford), and at Falkingham (near Sleaford, Lincs.).

As many volunteers as possible will be needed to make these campaigns a success. The Committee would also welcome donations towards the costs of planning this action.—MICHAEL RANDLE, Chairman; APRIL CARTER, Secretary; PAT ARROWSMITH, Field Organiser; Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War, 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4.

. . . and in Yorkshire

THE Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (143 Fleet St., London, E.C.4) are organising a vigil, march and mass meeting against the Yorkshire rocket base for Thor missiles under construction at Brighton Aerodrome, Bubwith.

The vigil will be at the aerodrome from 8 a.m., July 4, to 12 noon, July 5. The march starts from Bubwith at 12 noon, July 5, and arrives at Selby at approximately 4.15 p.m., where the mass meeting will be addressed by Sir Herbert Read, Mervyn Jones, A. J. P. Taylor, Dr. John Rex and others.

Leaflets with full details are available.

Hundreds rot on Greek prison isle

GOVERNMENT REIGN OF REPRESSION AND FEAR

Peace News Reporter

THERE is an island in the Aegean Sea where tourists do not come, for it is a concentration camp for political prisoners.

The island is Ayios Evstratios, near Lemnos, and on it are held without trial several hundred of those politically inconvenient to the Greek Government.

The exiles are members of the United Democratic Left (EDA), some of its Administrative Committee, 12 of its Parliamentary Candidates, two local councillors, two journalists, nine trade unionists, and 61 other leading members.

Why the persecution?

Success at last year's elections at which the United Democratic Left gained 25 per cent of the seats and became the official Opposition. That scared the Government. Instead of the hoped-for amnesty for the political prisoners then held, many arrests quickly added to their number.

In all, 347 men and women are exiled on the barren island of Ayios Evstratios, many of them aged between 60 and 70. Many others who have completed periods of 9-12 years are now on temporary leave. To these figures, given last October by Ilias Iliou, Parliamentary leader of the United Democratic Left, should be added the many arrested since.

Medical attention on Ayios Evstratios is in the hands of a Greek Red Cross doctor whose attempts to send prisoners away for treatment have so far been foiled by the security authorities, though some of the more seriously ill were removed from the island last December by a delegate of the International Red Cross.

Police decision

The fate of the exiles is miserable; the fate of their families is very nearly as grim. In a country with considerable unemployment and deprived of a wage-earner, the dependents usually find it impossible to get work for they do not possess certificates of political reliability.

Is exiling legally possible in Greece?

Commenting on this, Ilias Iliou has pointed out that Greece has signed international agreements, such as the Rome Agreement of 1952, condemning exiling by administrative order. Yet "citizens who are opponents of the Government are arrested and deprived of their freedom not by a judicial decision but by a decision of an administrative committee which decides on the basis of arbitrary proposals and judgments of the police."

The Government has attempted to give the impression that exiling is a common and light police measure. But says Ilias Iliou, "apart from the fact that exiling is anti-democratic, the Government—based on the stupid argument that the rebellion which ended ten years ago exists—has transformed exiling into a severe penalty by continual extension of the exile period from year to year as a means of terrorising the Greek people. So we see the phenomenon, unprecedented in the history of our country, where citizens have been kept in exile for 12 years without any break."

Psychological pressure

The leader of the Democratic Union Party, another Opposition party, put it this way at a press conference on April 2: "As far as democratic rights are concerned, the situation in Greece has deteriorated so much that the Democratic Union feels compelled to appeal, through the Greek and foreign press, to international public opinion to denounce the Government which tries, by illegal and immoral means, to strangle even the most elementary right of the citizens in a democratic country, namely, the right to elect and be elected."

The Liberal Party's view came from their leader S. Venizelos on March 30: "I have just returned from Crete, my birthplace, and I can affirm that the interventions and psychological pressure of the security authorities have broken all records. This pressure is applied to all citizens, irrespec-

tive of their political affiliations, who are not friends of the Government. This is the truth."

None of these parties is Communist, though the United Democratic Left being the furthest Left, is supported by Communists, whose own party was banned years ago.

Many people, too, besides the United Democratic Left, are opposed to the American bases in Greece.

Something of this opposition was shown about a year ago when the people near Kalamata in the Peloponnese, and the surrounding villages, armed with sticks, rushed down the slopes and chased away Greek Army units who were trying to prepare the ground for an American rocket launching site.

Even more terrible than the plight of those on Ayios Evstratios is that of two doctors—Flountzis and Kakaletsis. The doctors are confined on another thinly populated island, Antikythera, between the Peloponnese and Crete. They live in a leaking hut and are without fresh food, though Dr. Flountzis has stomach ulcers.

Dr. Flountzis "crime" was that he was a member of the United Democratic Left,

and that, as his wife was told, he might have become mayor of the town where he lived. Twice previously exiled, Dr. Flountzis was sent on those occasions to Ayios Evstratios, where he gave medical attention to many of the prisoners and strove for hospital attention for those in need. This did not please the security authorities and he was removed. For the same reason the two doctors are now kept on a separate island. But unlike the exiles on Ayios Evstratios, the doctors do not even receive the 2s. 6d. a day maintenance paid to political prisoners.

Glezos faces death

Not all the enemies of the Government are exiled. For some there are worse fates.

Such a one is Manilos Glezos, hero of the Nazi resistance. During the occupation of Greece, Glezos risked death when he hauled down the Swastika flag in Athens and hoisted the Greek flag in its place.

But now Glezos, a member of the Administrative Committee of the United Democratic Left, is in prison, arrested with 12 others on December 5 on a charge of espionage. Normally in peacetime such a case would be tried before a civil court, but Glezos will be court martialled so that a death penalty can be imposed.

Dr. Donald Soper and Sir Compton Mackenzie are on an international committee set up to save the resistance leader.

The Archbishop of Athens has promised assistance over the whole question of exiles.

Poster with a story



Asbury Howard, a Negro civic leader, was convicted on grounds that the poster made from this newspaper cartoon would "provoke a breach of the peace." He is serving his sentence on a prison road gang. Albert McAllister, the white signpainter who made the poster, is in jail.

As Mr. Howard, 52, left the courtroom, he was severely beaten by a group of white men inside Bessemer City Hall, while police looked on. Only one man was arrested—for "disorderly conduct"—the victim's son who had attempted to defend his father. At the American Civil Liberties Union's request the Justice Department is investigating under federal civil rights statutes.

'I HAVE SUPPED FULL WITH HORRORS' ★

Sybil Morrison reviews

In Flanders Fields, by Leon Wolff. Published Longmans, Green & Co. 25s.

George and Haig; the disagreements between the French Generals and Haig; the quarrels in the War Cabinet, and the final decision to attack the Ypres Salient in spite of serious misgivings inside the War Cabinet about the whole project would be unimportant if it were not for the hundreds of thousands of dead and wounded in the struggle to gain a few yards of useless ground.

By 1917 it was clear that there was no hope on either side of a victory through advance and retreat in Flanders, but Haig continued to assert that the fundamental strategy must be to wear the enemy down. Yet the men understood, even if the High Command did not, the enduring superiority in trench warfare, of defence, and the hopelessness of victorious attack; they knew, as no one else knew, that only the rats grew fat on attrition. Rats were to be found everywhere throughout the Salient, in the dug-outs and the pill-boxes, the trenches and the water-logged craters, "so glutted with the flesh and blood of men that they hardly bothered to move aside; loathsome bloated creatures, half blind and as big as cats."

Those of us who lived through that time in human history know that the men on leave would not speak of their experiences; there was a conspiracy of silence which belonged to what Derek Prouse, writing in the Sunday Times of a Korean war film, imaginatively calls: "the flickerings of personal hope in the face of the anonymous gigantic massacre; the pathetic, unmatched conflict of flesh and bullet." It could not be spoken; it was too precarious, too horrible, too sad. In those two or three days of escape, only life could be held as important; death came in again on the guard's whistle, as the "return-from-leave" train drew out from a London station.

In Flanders they lived not only with death, but with complete disbelief and cynicism; there was no help; stretcher bearers floundered and died in the mud and filth; casualty stations were lost and destroyed; British barrage, designed to hold off the enemy, madly rained down shells upon their own troops.

The sappers who for two years carried out an underground attempt to detonate mines underneath the enemy trenches along a whole front, knew, even if the generals chose to shut their eyes and ears, that the Germans knew all about it. Often the Germans broke through into these underground tunnels, and the men "clawed at each other's throats . . . and beat each other to death with picks and shovels."

The attack upon the Passchendaele Ridge on October 9 was described later by one journalist as "a great bloody gamble"; it had rained and rained for three days; the ground was known to be an irretrievable bog; 9,000 drenched troops began their forward march at dusk in "full battle order." The heavily laden men, many of them only boys, kept slipping and falling; to stumble into a shell crater could mean drowning in water foul with decay, excrement, and "something dead." Each one faced his own agony; each one suffered his own fear and his unrelieved pain; the wounded crouched on the muddy ground exposed to shell fire, while the men who could have aided them "struggled in the slime" and could not reach them.

In the Second World War two atomic bombs wrecked two cities, and caused tens of thousands of casualties; it took four long drawn out, agonised years to efface the small town of Passchendaele from the earth; "not one building remained, not one brick stood upon another." The front line at that point was advanced no more than two miles, and so-called victory was still a year away. In the end it was famine, not military prowess, that called a halt.

Ten million dead; more than 21,000,000 wounded, mutilated, and driven mad; that was the hideous consequence of a war that need never have been fought, a military mentality that counted men as means to an end, and a political outlook which refused to negotiate even when the reason for the war had been as lost to sight as decomposing flesh in oceans of mud.

Perhaps no greater indictment of war has ever been penned; there are no distractions, no footnotes, no appendices, for all the documentation is in the text and the writing is fluent and easy.

It has to be read to be believed; it should be read.

**Macbeth*, Act V, Sc. 5.

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PEOPLE AND PLACES

Million-strong peace march

IT is not always easy to get news about happenings inside the countries of the Middle East. Recently, however, I was lucky enough to hear from a correspondent in Iraq about the Partisans of Peace Movement there.

The Partisans of Peace, set up in 1949 on the initiative of the now disbanded Cominform, is the title by which many national sections of the World Peace Council are known.

During the rule of the old Iraqi regime, with its Western imperialist backing, they were forced underground. With the overthrow of the old regime they were able to come into the open.

In April this year they held a two-day conference in Bagdad.

The conference called for all Governments to respect and implement the principles of the Bandung Conference; the immediate stopping of all nuclear tests and the international control of nuclear weapons; and the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

After the first day of the Conference a march was held through Bagdad in which over a million people took part. Organisations which supported the march included trade unions, students and women's organisations.

Filming Gandhi

TWO new colour films are to be made about Gandhi—a feature film and a documentary.

Production of the feature film is expected

to begin in India on October 2—to coincide with the birthday celebrations of Gandhi. It will cost \$1,000,000 plus the cost of the stars. The documentary will cost a little over \$75,000.

Mr. Burt Martin, Executive Vice-President of the Film Production International of California, whose organisation is making the films, has made it clear that no one will act as Gandhi. The films will depict the Indian's influence on the people of his day, and leading roles will be played by American and Indian actors.

Some important incidents in the life of Gandhi will certainly be depicted, but he will always be shown in the distance, and when he is heard it will be from recordings of his actual voice.

Tribunals must say why

IT is now open to any conscientious objector applying to a Local or Appellate Tribunal in Britain to request the Tribunal to state the reasons for any decision it comes to in his case.

A recent Order in Council brought into effect Section 12 of the Tribunals and Inquiries Act, 1958, which makes it the duty of the Tribunal to do this. The request should be made either in advance, or at the time when the decision is announced. The reasons will then be given by the Tribunal either verbally or in writing.

In either event once given the reasons are taken to form part of the decision and accordingly to be incorporated into the record of the case.

Any CO not sure of his rights in this respect, or any other, should of course contact the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1 (EUSton 5501).

Quakers give information

THE Quakers' East-West Relations Committee has begun publishing a series of Information Papers on various aspects of the East-West problem.

The first, "Berlin and the German Problem," has been published, and others will be appearing at approximately two-monthly intervals. Themes already planned include: Economic aspects of the East-West conflict, China, the West and the UN; East-West

cultural and educational exchanges; Inter-Church relations and East-West reconciliation.

The papers will be mainly factual, but will contain some interpretation of the problems involved and usually some questions for discussion. They can be had at ninepence each, post free, from the Committee, at Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

A far better way to obtain the papers is by a year's subscription of three shillings and ninepence, post free, which will obtain at least six papers—and a folder to contain the series will be sent with the first one. The papers, which were primarily intended for the use of Quakers actively concerned with the questions, are of course available to anyone inside or outside the Society of Friends.

Timely comment from 1859

DO people ever learn from their mistakes? Here is a priceless comment that appeared in *The Times* just 100 years ago:

"After all our Peace Congresses, our international amities, and our Exhibitions of Industry, it has come to this—that two out of the five great Powers are engaged in deadly battle; that two others are armed *cap-à-pie* with the view of plunging into the strife; and that the fifth, with every possible desire for neutrality, is pressing its armaments to the utmost. . . . We may be any moment at war.

"We are not speaking of the present contest . . . or of any question in particular. We say only that human passions are just what they were, and that among the fruits of these passions is war. There is no preventive that can be relied upon. Congresses may be either useless or deceptive. Expense appears to be little obstacle. . . .

"As for ourselves, if ever a nation was possessed with a conviction of the folly and wickedness of war, we are that nation, but common-sense tells us to be up and doing, and our shores will bristle with guns and soldiers."

The argument then leads up to a demand for intensive musketry training for the Volunteers!

BRIEFLY FROM ROUND THE WORLD

The Nuclear Disarmament Newsreel Committee's film of the Swaffham Rocket Base demonstration has had 75 showings to date in the United Kingdom. Three copies have been sent to the USA, two to Australia, and one each to Canada, New Zealand and West Germany. The film may be booked from the Hon. Sec., Eric Walker, 154 Corbyn St., N.4.

After seven years' work and the expenditure of more than £157,000,000 the US Navy has abandoned the building of a 600 m.p.h. jet sea-plane.

Apartheid will cost the South African Government £50,000,000 for building railways between cities and the resettlement schemes for African workers and their families.

About 3,000 Africans refused recently to obey a South African Government warning to leave the farms they have occupied since 1896 in the Middelburg district of Transvaal, now declared an all-white area. A legal representative for the Africans said they were not prepared to co-operate with the Government in any way.

A German firm, KTG of Frankfurt, is advertising climatic pressure chambers for use in the manufacture of missiles, many to manufacture atomic, bacteriological or chemical weapons, Frank Allaun, MP, told the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs recently.

"On Being a Good Witness," a leaflet issued in Britain by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, is now being translated into German for distribution by the West German League for COs.

The UN scientific committee of 15 members which last July produced a 228-page report on the effects of atomic radiation upon mankind is expected to submit a second comprehensive report in 1962.

The current issue of Pax Quarterly Bulletin (5s, from John J. O'Conner, 37 Northiam, Woodside Park, London, N.12) contains a number of important articles for Catholic peace workers. Archbishop Roberts writes about his proposals for a Council for Survival; Count Michael de la Bedoyere's editorial in the Catholic Herald ("Great Decision") is reprinted, as well as an article about "Collective Guilt and Total War" from the Clergy Review. Letters to the Editor are written by Canon F. H. Drinkwater and Dr. Cecil Gill.

The East London Family Service Unit (originally the Stepney Pacifist Service Unit) which last year received £50 through the efforts of supporters of the Alexandra Rose Day is this year appealing for helpers as door-to-door collectors between June 17 and June 22 in the following districts: Bexleyheath, Bromley (Kent), East Ham, Erith, Finsbury, Grays, Harrow, Ilford, Shoreditch, Strand, Twickenham, West Ham and Woodford. Offers of help should go to the Unit at 71 Vallance Road, E.1.

ROCKETS AND TALKS

WE regret that an error occurred in the second paragraph of "In Perspective" last week. The second sentence should have read: "Now forces armed with the latest weapons face each other elsewhere in Europe—in the Balkans."

Irish Synod says no

A MOTION urging a fresh study of the Christian attitude to war brought before the General Synod of the Church of Ireland on May 13 was defeated by 40 votes to 29.

"The Synod did not refuse to receive it, as it had done with a similar motion a few years ago," the mover, the Rev. Henry Lamb, of Lisnadill, Armagh, said last week.

The terms of the motion were: "That this Synod requests the House of Bishops to appoint a Commission to study afresh what ought to be the Christian attitude to war, in view of the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ and the practice of the early Church, and to report to the next meeting of this Synod."

Campaign for nuclear disarmament with this literature

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OUT THIS WEEK

Emrys Hughes'

PILGRIMS'

PROGRESS

IN RUSSIA

An absorbing account of the veteran pacifist MP's journey to Russia to report the Prime Minister's recent historic visit. Mr. Hughes has visited the Soviet Union many times in the past thirty years. He reviews the country's progress, imparts a mass of interesting information, and discusses knowledgeably the prospects for peace.

5s. (postage 6d.)

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But the help we can give outside Britain depends partly on how strong we are here. The Development Committee is hoping to increase the number of part-time area organisers. Are you interested? The Campaign Committee reported its plans for the coming months. Do you remember the "little boy" poster? Look out for his successor and a new "Call to you" leaflet. Nor need we gloss over our differences, which indicate a real concern to be active in constructive peace-making, provided that we are able to maintain "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

But I would ask: "What are YOU DOING about it?" If you are not able to help the many and varied activities of the PPU at home and abroad in any other way, please share in them by your donation this week to the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

During 1959 we aim at raising £1,250. Up to the end of May we received £405. We need £125 to bring us up to the average.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

PEACE NEWS

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The unions are stirring

THE THIRD LARGEST TRADE UNION in Britain decided at its conference last week to support unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The National Union of General and Municipal Workers, which had always been regarded as a dependable ally of the Labour Establishment, declared on June 4 by 150 votes to 126, with 75 delegates either absent or abstaining, "that the next Labour Government should take unilateral action in ceasing to manufacture nuclear weapons, and in prohibiting the use of all such weapons from British territory."

The decision was taken against the recommendation of the Union's Executive, whose spokesman referred to the 20,000-strong Trafalgar Square demonstration at Easter as "mass hysteria."

Several smaller unions have already adopted a policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament, and there is much speculation about the position of the giant Transport and General Workers' Union, which meets during the week beginning July 6.

★ ★

THE IMMEDIATE SIGNIFICANCE of union decisions is their part in the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool in early October. At the Party Conference it does not matter if ALL the Constituency Labour Parties favour nuclear disarmament—their vote is drowned by the block votes of the unions, and in this respect the machinery of the Labour movement is not attractive.

At the Party Conference the General and Municipal Workers, who made their surprise decision last week, have a block vote of between 600,000 and 650,000 votes. The Transport and General Workers have 1,000,000 votes. (At the Trades Union Congress these unions have 775,000 and 1,300,000 votes respectively.)

At last year's Labour Party Conference a motion for unilateral nuclear disarmament gained 890,000 votes; it seems certain to receive more this October.

This is encouraging. And we can add quite frankly that any union decisions for nuclear disarmament will be correspondingly stronger to the extent that they reflect rank and file opinion. It is therefore imperative that the next world war is made the vital issue for debate at branch level.

★ ★

DISCUSSIONS WILL BE HELD SHORTLY between the Trades Union Congress General Council and the Labour Party on whether the joint declaration on disarmament issued by the two organisations 15 months ago needs revision.

It is clear that there is the possibility of significant changes in the trades union movement this year. On this basis there will probably be some attempt at a compromise in the Labour movement between those who stand for unilateral nuclear disarmament and those who broadly support the direction of present policy.

There can be no compromise which does not repudiate entirely this preparation for total war. If Britain were to rely simply on American nuclear weapons, there would be none of the advantages of stepping out of the Cold War framework; instead there would merely be the probable disappearance of a mass movement which challenges the basic assumptions of foreign policy.

The danger is that with a General Election expected shortly after the Party Conference, there will be top level attempts to smooth everything out in the Labour movement behind the scenes. This is no time to regard such an arrangement as "the best possible we can expect." Rather, the decision of the General and Municipal Workers is a challenge and a success that can be built on by every one of us.

A new club?

THE idea that Britain should take the lead in forming a non-nuclear club is once more being seriously canvassed. At such a time it is as well to remember the French attitude to the idea. Speaking to a meeting in the House of Commons last week, M. Soustelle, the French Minister responsible for atomic energy, was reported by the Manchester Guardian as follows: "Even if the Ministers in Geneva managed to agree on the abolition of tests, Britain, America and Russia would still possess the bombs. Any criticism came ill from those who had the bomb already."

And at the NATO re-evaluation conference in London there has been a strong French demand for the creation of independent atomic deterrents in national hands in Europe. The French make this demand because they feel that the Americans might well not be ready to use their "deterrent" if Russian forces advanced in Europe.

The French attitude points a clear moral. No European country is likely to be attracted by a British proposal for a non-nuclear club if they think this proposal still leaves their safety in the hands of the United States. Therefore any proposal that Britain should give up her deterrent and shelter behind the American is unrealistic. Britain is only likely to have an effect on countries like France if it gives up all reliance on nuclear weapons.

Even then the effect might not be a great one. Other countries might well feel that Britain was making a fairly safe gamble. It is what was done with the resources that had been previously used on armaments that would be a deciding factor. If they were used to tackle poverty and disease in the under-developed countries and to build a better society in Britain there would be a real incitement to other peoples to get their countries out of the arms race.

Since this note was written, further evidence of the French desire to control a nuclear deterrent has appeared. The French Government has refused to allow the stockpiling of American atomic weapons in France unless it has some share in the control of them. This decision means that General Norstad, Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, may have to move 250 nuclear bombers from France to Germany. At a session of the Atlantic Congress on Monday, a French General claimed that France had from the start argued that each country should have, and control, its own deterrent. The French attitude can only encourage other nations to take the same position.

It looks as if other nations may have to pay a high price for General de Gaulle's determination to make France a "great" nation.

French Socialists

THE French Socialist Party has a deplorable record in the way it approached the question of an Algerian settlement when its leader, M. Mollet, was head of the Government. It has now come out with a call for negotiations with the genuine representatives of the Algerian people without the exclusion of any group, and condemning the holding of elections in Algeria before such talks had been held. It also condemns the policy of "integration" advocated by so many supporters of the Government of General de Gaulle, and declared that this is a denial of Algerian personality.

We are accustomed to expect from Socialist Parties a more robust opposition to the operations of imperialism when they are in opposition than when they are in office. A comparison of the declarations of the British Labour Party while out of office and its actions while in office provides such an example.

The contrast in Britain, however, is a great deal less flagrant than obtains with the French Socialists, whose record of oppression, torture and the deliberate suppression of news and the rights of free discussion brought them much closer in outlook to "National Socialists" than to the socialists of international tradition.

It will be observed, however, that despite the newly-found antagonism of M. Mollet's Party to the attitude of the French "Right," it carefully refrains from endorsing the right of the Algerian people to democratic self-government, preferring the question-begging phrase, so beloved of the French politician, the acceptance of Algerian "personality."

Independent Guinea

THERE has been a rather striking contrast between the position of the two linked African territories, French Guinea and Ghana, since they achieved their independence. The Gold Coast won its freedom, as Ghana, after a period of intensive struggle during which its present leaders had to suffer imprisonment. French Guinea achieved its independence without a struggle as a result of a plebiscite. Nevertheless, the

subsequent relationship of Ghana with Britain has been much more cordial than the relationship of the freed Guinea with France.

The achievement of the independence of Guinea resulted from an incidental step necessary to the establishment of the new French constitution proposed by General de Gaulle. It is improbable that the General anticipated that any of the African peoples grouped in the Federation of French West Africa would take this step, and there may have been an element of spitefulness in his immediate announcement that Guinea had now disqualified itself for future French assistance. That there was this element of spleen seems to be borne out by the fact that the French Government has refused to vote for the admission of the new state to membership of the United Nations.

Whether this element of spitefulness was there or not, there is no doubt that this kind of littleness of spirit was shown by a number of the French residents in Guinea. Many of these, in the manner of colonials elsewhere, regarded themselves as having been betrayed by France. Some of these, as the time came for their departure, found a satisfaction in small acts of sabotage. They removed or damaged essential pieces of furniture, cut electric wires, smashed doors and did similar petty damage.

These things helped to develop a distrust of those French who would have been glad to remain, with the result that the number of French people in Guinea's two and a quarter million population has fallen from 8,000 to 4,000.

Similarly the French attitude has raised problems as to the future capitalisation of the area. There is no disposition on the part of M. Sekou Toure's Government to align itself with the Communist bloc, but it will have to seek the means to capital development where it can find it, and the French attitude of stupid spitefulness risks making Guinea one more pawn in the Cold War.

Whither Iraq?

THE very fact that the day-by-day news from Iraq is so contradictory renders it less difficult to form a reasonably objective view of General Kassem's aims. A Baghdad Foreign Affairs Ministry announcement on June 2 brought the news of the scrapping of three agreements with the United States: the military assistance agreement of April, 1954, a special agreement for supplies signed in July, 1955, and an economic assistance agreement under the Eisenhower Doctrine.

On June 3, when the Iraqi Ambassador to Moscow arrived at Baghdad for consultations, he told the Press that relations with Russia were good and would be "strengthened and cemented" in the future.

June 4 brought two reports directly concerning Britain. One was that Iraq was negotiating to quit the sterling area, the second that General Kassem was anxious to conclude a new cultural pact with Britain.

Here, forgetting about the sterling area issue, the wish for a new cultural pact with Britain has been interpreted mostly as a last minute attempt by Kassem to save himself from being forced into the Soviet camp by internal pressure. Only a few days earlier, one important weekly went so far as to refer to him as a man of straw—which does not seem consistent with his successful struggle against the Communists' persistent efforts to force themselves into the Government.

There is also a wide difference between the average British view of the General and that of competent French observers. Edouard Sablier, writing in *Le Monde*, gives him approval and sympathy. He attributes Kassem's internal difficulties to the legacy left by Britain's long support of the reactionary Nuri-es-Said, in a perhaps not inapt *quid pro quo* for Britain's attitude in the Algerian issue—a true case of the pot calling the kettle black.

In Sablier's opinion General Kassem is in the unfortunate position of running a race against time. His measures of reform, and particularly those concerning land redistribution, should deprive Communist agitation of all power to convince in a country whose Islamic tradition present a fundamental obstacle to Communism. But the question is whether the Kassem reforms will yield tangible results quickly enough to show that his régime can do at least as well as what Communism promises.

In the meantime he seems to be in full control of the army, and as long as he can remain in that position, his chances of winning through must be considered pretty good. As for the items of contradictory news, they surely indicate that, like President Nasser, he is determined to do all he can to remain uncommitted between the Russians and the West.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Labour and the Bomb

IF Labour's policy on the H-bomb is changing for the better as Frank Allaun believes or is staying put as Peace News maintains it has little to do with the interpretations of the words "suspend" and "stop" of Gaitskill and Bevan.

Frank Allaun's optimism is amply justified by the complete change of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers. The vote at its annual conference for unilateral action may be followed by similar decisions in other big unions.

The work for a new peace policy must go on in the trade unions. PN should give its friends there every encouragement. That is the best way of changing Labour's policy between now and the General Election.—**RON HUZARD, 37 Hollingworth Rd., Petts Wood, Kent.**

Auschwitz

IN the article "In Perspective" of May 29 it is stated that a group of architects met in Rome some weeks ago to try to formulate a design for a memorial on the theme "Never Again Auschwitz," to be erected on the site of the camp. Later in the article is the following paragraph:

"Mr. Fitzgibbon's moral focus also seems to suggest that to avoid concentration camps in Britain we should be prepared to use weapons which would make Auschwitz seem like a children's tea party."

It took our group—mostly young folk, work campers—four hours to walk around the site of this concentration camp where, sometimes at the rate of 10,000 per day, 4,000,000 people were killed. There is plenty to see, including hundreds of shoes, the ruined gas chambers, and a film made at the time of the liberation. It was hard for our German friends.

It seems to me ridiculous to build a memorial to deter people from repeating such deeds. It is enough to see the real memorials. If the reality does not persuade, how can artistic symbols?

Secondly, it is a fallacy to suggest that nuclear bombing would make Auschwitz seem like a children's tea party. Why should one man's death be regarded as less than it is, just because millions of his fellows also die? Do values alter according to the death rate? Maybe they do, but we can control the death rate and our pens.—**DAVID TAYLOR, 27 Eldon Rd., Cheltenham, Glos.**

Colour bar in sport

AT its meeting in Munich on May 27 the International Olympics Committee accepted the assurances of the South African delegate that there was no discrimination in the selection of the South African Olympic teams (despite the fact that there has never been a non-European in the team) and therefore no action was taken. Earlier the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport had sent a letter signed by twenty of the most distinguished people in the world to the International Olympics Committee calling for action to ensure that South Africa acts in accordance with the Olympic Charter which forbids racial discrimination. All member committees had been circulated with the facts of the discrimination.

Mr. Honey, the South African delegate, said that any sportsman who was a member of an association affiliated to the South African Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association and who was of a good enough standard would be eligible for selection. Mr. Honey omitted to say that only exclusively white associations, or in one or two minor instances, associations represented on all committees by whites on behalf of non-whites, are allowed to affiliate to the SAOCGA.

The fight to secure equal rights for the African, Indian and Coloured sportsmen of South Africa will continue, but it would be idle to pretend that the lack of determination to uphold the principles of the Olympic Charter by many Olympic officials, non-white as well as white, will not delay matters considerably.—**ANTHONY STEEL, Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport, 4, Erskin Hill, London, N.W.11.**

Nuclear disarmament and PPU

MAY I be allowed to point out to Mary Wilkins (PN, May 22) that most members of our group are dependent on the land for their livelihoods, and as that means they must work all the hours of daylight we feel group meetings are unprofitable. In any case new members are not likely to be recruited at such a time for the same reason. We do, of course, continue to spread pacifism in our personal contacts. I am making this explanation because I know how difficult it is to appreciate the work any sort of husbandry involves until one has lived in the country and been in contact with it.—**PHOEBE BERROW, Alton Group, PPU, Hillcrest, Windmill Hill, Alton, Hants.**

I WISH my good friend Edward Bray had defined "dead." Huddersfield is not the only group of the PPU. We had a Peace Pledge Union meeting which Sybil Morrison addressed in Bradford a week or two ago, and the corpse seemed quite lively. We have an active study group in Bradford too, and so we do demand "thought" from our PPU members. If I were to make any criticism of CND it would be that while the Campaign incessantly demands "action" from its members, it all too rarely demands "thought" from them; and yet one has to think sometimes, and decide where this incessant treadmill of action is taking one.

Is the sustained witness of the Peace Pledge Union that all war, whatever the weapons used, is evil—nothing! Is the constant propaganda conducted by PPU headquarters in support of the pacifist ideal—nothing? Is the activity of pacifists like

Edward Bray himself, who receive their main inspiration and impetus from the PPU, in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—nothing? Of course not.

Like Edward Bray I consider participation in CND the most important anti-war activity for pacifists at the present time. Like him I rejoice in the successes of the Campaign, and like him, I regret that Sybil Morrison and Stuart Morris refuse to ally themselves in any way with the Campaign. The Peace Pledge Union, however, should not be written off on this account.

If the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is successful, and war is averted in "1960, 1961 or even 1970", then we who have associated ourselves with the Campaign actively can feel some small measure of pride. But if there is war, or even a major threat of war, what then? I am afraid that the CND, precisely because it is not absolute in its opposition to war, would fade away into oblivion. Edward Bray would be left with his moribund Huddersfield PPU group, and would have to kick it back into life. He might even begin to take those 1,000 leaflets obtained from PPU headquarters out of the cupboard.—**A. E. SOUTH, 22 Park Grove, Bradford 9.**

HAVING allowed me, through these precious columns, to express my support for the views of Ian Dixon, I must ask you to allow me to dissociate myself from the views put forward by Edward Bray.

I respect him for his untiring energy and enthusiasm and am glad to see him appointed the Area Chairman of Yorkshire CND. Nevertheless, I feel he is altogether

too sweeping in his analysis of the futility of the PPU. True, the PPU has not got a tenth of the way we expected it to and all of us, keen or passive, lively or languid, must share the blame—if blame there is. Sober thought, however, cannot dismiss the movement so lightly.

One thing stands out like a bright star—Peace News. There are pacifists in the CND who object to it being sold outside their meetings, yet we know how great a part Peace News has played in the advancing of CND.

The PPU has done a great job, in all circumstances, and Peace News could not hold a list of all our credit items. Two people, above all, have held us together through that time and, whilst some of us must disagree with them now on certain issues, we can still recognise the validity of their position and remember all the good work they have led us through.—**KENNETH CHADWICK, 35 Berkeley Ave., Leeds 8.**

EDWARD Bray cannot dim my faith by his own lack of it; I have no wish to prevent him from believing that he can, "even by 1970," persuade or coerce a Government still relying upon the method of war, to give up what it believes to be its most effective weapon.

Each of us must surely work towards our end in the way our conscience and common sense directs; I grant him fully his right to do so; perhaps he would grant me the same right. If we are both alive in 1970 I hope we can compare notes!—**SYBIL MORRISON, 6, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.**

Correspondence on this subject is now closed.—[ED.]

THAT NEW MAN OF 1994!

By Wilfred Wellock

IS the new man we await an escapist or a social revolutionary?

Arthur W. Hopkins in his letter to PN (May 22) does well to point out the temptations in becoming, say, a smallholder, but renders a dis-service to a revolutionary principle in so far as he infers that to become one's own master is to become an escapist.

Such a man may escape a soul-destroying way of life, which is a good thing in itself. To achieve a condition of soul liberation, probably at the cost of material wealth, may make all the difference to one's sense of wellbeing and increase one's power to live wholly.

Even if he unfortunately stops there and rests on his oars, it would still be a good life in this self-indulgent age.

The subsidies and regulations which Mr. Hopkins questions merely reveal the extent to which our whole life is rapidly becoming enmeshed in the complexities of an over-centralised system. From this matrix there is no simple way of escape. The utmost we can do is to make personal arrangements outside the vicious circle.

Unfortunately this sort of thing is being done in many cases for illicit gain, whence new regulations and more inspectors are required which merely extend the morass. Breaking away from it is social service of a high order.

Personal revolts

Mr. Hopkins appears to be saying that pacifists should throw in the sponge in regard to "back to the land philosophies." But what then, Mr. Hopkins? What is your alternative?

The main purpose of these personal revolts is to lead to social revolts in the interest of a new civilisation; to bring creative, human and social values into the labour and life of every person. A very great deal of experimentation will be necessary before this end is attained. The alternative is to become increasingly enslaved by the production and consumption of goods and services. Already the clamour for more spending power foreshadows deeper social and international conflicts than have yet been known.

Clearly it is the condition of man that is wrong, yet all the present trends aggravate it, while our increasing speeds negate all prospect of restoring the habit of thought and meditation.

It was failure to realise this condition, with all its implications, which led Mr. Jenner astray in his letter to PN (March 20). I assure Mr. Jenner that I want to return neither to 1914, nor to 1780 when the Industrial Revolution took its rise, but I greatly lament the very serious loss of spiritual values—responsibility, creativity, vital social and human relationships in the interim. Indeed, I believe that unless we recover them our civilisation will perish, either by war or moral decadence.

Sense of detachment

Mr. Jenner rightly rejoices in the removal of poverty, but he errs when he goes on to laud material prosperity without qualification, as if it were a true measure of social progress.

We are still achieving prosperity at the expense of spiritual man; creating a vast army of the "unattached" whose work tends to be wholly impersonal.

The phenomenal advance of automation and the emergence of big financial corporations which control the labour of thousands of workers, largely on assembly lines, have intensified the workers' sense of detachment, of not "belonging," whence they lose all interest in their work and think only of the money they can get out of it. Moreover, some 90 per cent of the population have no attachment with any religious or cultural institution, and are even too busy getting and spending money to be concerned about their neighbours.

This aloofness, developed strongly in the 'twenties produced a demand for a "bread and butter politics" in the thirties within the Labour and Socialist movement. The idealism of William Morris, Edward Carpenter and others vanished. It was then that I forsook party politics.

Ever since the Socialist emphasis has been on material values. The current watchwords are maximum incomes and maximum leisure in which to spend them, and since the maximum is never reached the struggle for it is unending. Hire purchase and advertising keep the spending fever at its height. Rarely does any concept of the good life determine choices or conduct.

Hence the new horrors of our time, the spread of dishonesty, the rising death-roll on our roads, flick-knife boys, masked robbery with violence.

Our Press overflows with lurid crime

stories and all manner of extravagances and with the new social problems to which they give rise, as the following recent public statements reveal:

(1) J. M. Hagan, Deputy Director of Education in the West Riding, stated that while deprivation caused by poverty had almost disappeared, there had arisen in its place "a sense of personal insignificance, a new fear which had made us a prey of new forces such as the Press, TV and the films."

(2) The Very Rev. H. A. Jones told the Lancs. and Cheshire Prisoners Aid Societies of a new type of juvenile delinquent who was not just rebelling against society, but actually rejecting it. They had no use for England, nor for that part of it which was their home. They displayed a negative attitude of life which led them towards senseless destruction.

(3) The Home Secretary (R. A. Butler) told the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland that while the material conditions of the people had improved out of all recognition, crime was greater than ever. "We find that dishonesty can spring from greed no less than need and that material prosperity does not ensure the stable family life on which the growth of character in young people so much depends. . . A child whose parents were too preoccupied with material possessions to give him love was no less thwarted and no less liable to have his character deformed than a child who was a prey to poverty."

(4) Lord Cohen of Birkenhead told the Royal Society of Health that half Britain's hospital beds were for the mentally afflicted.

(5) The US Senate Juvenile Delinquency Sub-Committee reports that one boy in five between 10 and 17 years in the US has already been before a court, and that the number with delinquency records exceeds 1,700,000.

By-products of progress

The last item has been included because the trends I have been describing are more pronounced in the USA (with the world's highest living standards) than Britain, and because the British are travelling the American road.

The quality of life is falling and human wholeness disappearing. Even sudden death is now so common that it is being accepted like so much else as an inevitable by-product of progress.

We thus await the new man. Till he begins to appear in numbers nuclear weapons will be our portion!

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The military as the CONTROLLING ELITE

IN contrast with August Comte's view that in the final or positivistic stage of history reason will rule and violence in all its forms will be subjected to humane values, recent years have given evidence of a clear and significant trend toward army control of nations.

The impact of such control upon the international political situation has so far not been analysed in proper detail. The implications of such rule for the development of democratic social relations is far from understood. The prospect for peace in a world largely ruled by military leaders is problematic, to say the least.

In view of current trends, a brief review of the recent record of the military is in order.

In November, 1958, democracy was abrogated in the Sudan by a military junta under General Ibrahim Abboud, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. He ousted the elected government of Premier Abdulla Khalil and assumed supreme power only three years after the country had secured its independence from Anglo-Egyptian rule.

Only a few weeks before General Abboud's *coup d'état*, General Mohammed Ayub Khan had taken over the elected civil government of Pakistan.

General takes over in Burma

General Ne Win, Commander-in-Chief of the Military Forces in Burma, assumed the leadership of the Burmese Government in October, 1958, as a result of an agreement by political leaders who were unable to maintain a coherent political programme.

During the same month, Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat, head of the Armed Forces of Thailand, dismissed the government, tore up the nation's constitution, and began running the country as an unquestioned military ruler.

In the same season, the considerable military control of Indonesia by General Abdul Haris Nasution, Army Chief of Staff, was strengthened by the extension of the emergency regulations in that country. These continued the Parliament as an ineffectual debating club, and reduced the presidentially appointed cabinet to the status of a vague and unimportant administrative class.

More familiar to Americans than the above-mentioned instances was the assumption in July, 1958, by General Karim el-Kassem of the military dictatorship of Iraq. Although the obscure and withdrawn general seems to be having his difficulties with both the Nasserites and the Communists, his position of power basically has remained unchallenged.

Nasser rules Republic

Earlier in the year, independent Syria merged with Egypt to form the United Arab Republic. The Republic is managed by the quasi-military domination of Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser. Indeed, Colonel Nasser is the pioneer of military leaders in the recent years. He seized power from Major-General Mohammed Naguib, who served briefly as chief of state following the overthrow of King Farouk in 1952.

The attainment of political power by the military in the Middle East and Asia comprises one of the most significant and far-reaching trends of modern times. Furthermore, within those countries which have not recently come under the influence of the military class, such as the Soviet Union, Communist China, certain South American countries, etc., the power of the military has been increased in relation to other segments of national life. Perhaps the eminent position of the military in such nations is understandable and even inevitable, in the light of the fact that approximately 50 per cent of the national budget is spent for military activities.

Even the United States and France have generals in the top position. While no one

would claim that either of these countries is under the control of the military, still a factor in the selection of both leaders was their renown as generals.

At any rate, the military almost everywhere seems to be in the ascendancy. Since last summer, generals have taken control of the governments of six countries: Burma, Iraq, Pakistan, Lebanon, Sudan, and Thailand. The total number of generals heading governments in the non-Communist world is now 16. Not all of them, of course, represent dictatorships.

The exact reasons for the present swing to army rule vary from country to country, yet certain factors common to most of the countries may be suggested. Nearly all, for example, possess a background of colonial or semi-colonial control. It may be argued

By Herbert Stroup

that colonialism inhibits the development of political maturity and a sense of responsibility among the indigenous leaders. To a large degree, native leaders are accustomed to being in opposition to their colonial masters. When they find themselves in positions of responsibility, they scarcely know how to formulate and implement a constructive programme of political leadership. The fact is, moreover, that the native leaders often were not given significant roles in the colonial governments. They were accustomed to subordination and to the neutralising effects of large-scale bureaucracy.

The political traditions in these countries, both before and during the colonial period, were often openly despotic rather than democratic. It is true that oftentimes the Western colonial nations sought to establish and develop democratic institutions, but it may be claimed that such institutions had not existed long enough for them to have genuinely taken root. In other instances, the inculcation of democratic theory by the colonial powers was offset in its effectiveness by clear violations in the practice of their leaders. Authoritarianism, moreover, in a very large part of the world has never been looked upon as a key evil. The primary question has been: Who controls the means of authoritarianism?

Politics—a game

Another striking factor in the rise of the military is the fact that nearly all of the countries are economically undeveloped. Many have illiterate, poverty-stricken, dense populations in which only a small number can express their human needs and aspirations through effective democratic procedures. In many instances, the masses expect to be controlled and even exploited by a small upper class. The striking lack of an extensive, well-developed middle class in these countries goes hand-in-hand with the depressed conditions of the masses and the authoritarian role of the elite.

Politics, therefore, is not primarily an instrument for the improvement of the economic welfare of the masses. It is a "game" in which a variety of upper-class leadership groups vie for absolute power. Although the military governments of recent vintage have declared their interest in extending educational privileges, improving agriculture, developing extensive industries, reforming government, eliminating graft, and securing other humane benefits associated with the extension of democratic life, their achievements seem to be meagre, as judged even by a grossly flexible standard of expectancy.

Colonel Nasser of Egypt, for example, seems to be more interested in his international political position, both in the Middle East and in the struggle between East and West, than he is in the genuine improvement of the conditions of his people.

It may be argued that the military leader is understandably influenced by his training and outlook to be concerned with inter-

national political affairs which appear to him to be threats to the military security of his nation. There is little in military education which would give intelligent hope for the vigorous implementation of democratic social goals for these nations. From time to time, however, some clear gain is secured, as in the case of Egypt, where some education has been provided for the masses. It must be admitted also that due to the East-West conflict, some, if not all, of the military-led countries have an authentic basis for anxiety about their national existence.

In the countries that they lead, the military control the largest, best-equipped, best-trained, and strongest organisations. By the very nature of military organisation, their forces are most clearly powerful. Their monopoly over the means of violence also places them in a very strong political position. In certain instances, the military leadership is vigorous and nationally concerned, traits which are not apparent to such a degree among the traditional aristocracies, which are often weak and corrupt.

Americans need to remember, furthermore, that democracy, as it has developed in the United States, is seldom the democracy which is known or practised in other parts of the world. Plato called democracy a "charming form of government full of variety and disorder, and dispensing a sort of equality to equals and unequals alike." While the United States has known the "disorders" of democracy to some extent, the would-be democratic nations of the world have experienced them even more stringently and tragically.

Exceptions to the trend

If democracy in the military-led countries has collapsed because its roots were shallow, its practices ill-adapted to traditional patterns, and its leadership inadequate to cope with the monumental problems it faced, it is gratifying to note that the Philippines and India are notable exceptions to the military pattern. It may well be that in these countries a more effective bureaucracy has been inherited from colonial days. Also, the spread of education may be more extensive.

Certainly in the case of India the non-violent tradition of Gandhi and his followers may well have a bearing on the lack of a highly developed military group. In the case of India, moreover, the fact that the Congress Party under Jawaharlal Nehru has been an extensive, unifying and effective political force has obviated the need for any other dominant control.

The military class is not everywhere dominant in the new nations. Those of Africa, for example, show considerable variety in the nature of their ruling class, but these unfortunately represent exceptions to the general trend, which is toward numerous small, insecure, poverty-stricken, illiterate, formerly colonial, striving nations currently looking to the military elite or to a military dictator for their salvation.

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1. Send notices to arrive first post Monday.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street), nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, June 12
LONDON, E.11: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., AGM, Wanstead & Dist. CND. 8.30 p.m. "March to Aldermaston" open to public.
LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, Caxton St. Swami Ayyakatananda "Chinese Faiths and Humanism." Vedanta Movement.
YORK: 7.30 p.m. St. Williams College. Philip Noel-Baker, MP. "Disarmament—Its Problems & Possibilities." UNA.

Saturday, June 13
HEREFORD: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., King St. For Quarterly Mtg. Speaker: Max Parker.
LONDON, S.W.1: 3-6 p.m. 90 Buckingham Palace Rd. Open Conference. Prof. J. D. Bernal. Tickets 2s. 6d. Teachers For Peace.

Saturday, June 13—Sunday, June 14
CROYDON: Exhibition. St. Matthews Hall, George St. Open daily except Sun. CND.

Sunday, June 14
LONDON, E.11: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bushwood. Annual Garden Mtg. Allen Skinner "CND and Industry." PPU.
LONDON, N.19: 6.30 p.m. Junction Rd. Con. Church. Rev. R. Keithahn, IFOR.
LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. 32 Tavistock Sq., Easton. Pacifist Universalist Service. Dora Russell "Education for Peace." PPU Religion Commission.
TONBRIDGE: 3.30 p.m. Dowgate Hall. Ted Bedford (Soc.), Mrs. J. St. John Thornton (Lib.), John Gower (Con.), Rev. Cyril Newman. CND.

Monday, June 15
HULL: 7.30 p.m. 6 Bond St., Tape Recording of Vinoba Bhawe, presented by D. Sowerby. PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 6 Endsleigh St. 6 p.m. refreshments. 6.30 p.m., "Non-violence & War," discussion opened by Harry Marsh. Central London PPU.
SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. City (Memorial) Hall. Mtg. for Women. Jacquetta Hawkes, Mrs. B. Buchanan, JP, Alderman Mrs. Green, Dr. K. Gar-side, Dr. M. Harrison. CND.

Tuesday, June 16
BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m. 25 Vernon Terr., Seven Dials. Alan Albon "Community Living." PPU.
MANCHESTER: 7.45 p.m. PPU Group meets at 36 Coleridge Rd., Old Trafford.

Wednesday, June 17
LONDON, N.4: 7.30 p.m. 3 Blackstock Rd. Discussion led by Harry Marsh "Non Violence and the PPU." PYAG.
LONDON, N.9: 8 p.m. Congregational Church, Lower Fore St. Discussion, "Current Affairs." PPU.
LONDON, S.W.4: 7.45 p.m. 27 Clapham Pk. Rd., Brian Reed, Sec., C.B.C.O. PPU.

Thursday, June 18
LIVERPOOL: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Hunter St. Group meeting. PPU.
LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. "Some Aspects of English Literature." PPU.
LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Rd. Frank Dawtry "Prisoners and Pacifism." PPU.
LONDON, W.1: 6 p.m. Library, Partisan Coffee Ho., 7 Carlisle St. Come and meet Russell Johnson, US peace worker. PN.

Thursday, June 18—Saturday, June 20
KINGSTON: Exhibition. New Malden Public Lib. Open afternoons. CND.

Friday, June 19
KINGSTON: 8 p.m. New Malden Public Lib., Mtg. Benn Levy, Antoinette Pirie, John Horner.
POOLE: 7.30 p.m. Centenary Hall. Address by Col. G. Taylor, "Radiation Hazards." Reply by Capt. R. A. Pilkington, MP. Bournemouth CND.

Saturday, June 20
PLYMOUTH: 2.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Searthmore, Mutley Plain. Meeting Devon and Cornwall Mems. 4.30 p.m. Tea, 5.30 p.m. poster parade. PPU.

Thursday, June 25
LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. Group Discussion. PPU.

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LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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Facing up to the problems of Afro-Asian unity

By FENNER BROCKWAY MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



I HOPED to get to Colonial Freedom meetings both at Cairo and Tunis. I didn't get to Tunis because the 'planes from Cairo now fly no further than Tripoli. To travel from one African capital to another it is necessary to fly back to Europe and cross the Mediterranean again.

HUMILIATING

I was saddened by this because it represents a breach in African unity. Both the Cairo and Tunis Governments were represented at the Accra Conference of the nine independent African States and joined in the declaration that the future of the Continent is now their common concern rather than the responsibility of Europe.

Yet now, because of a diplomatic quarrel between the United Arab Republic and Tunisia, one can only pass from one to the other by Europe! I am sufficiently African-minded to find this a little humiliating.

The tension between Cairo and Tunis is unhappily only one instance of a disunity which has arisen in the Arab world. When the Permanent Committee against Colonialism in the Mediterranean and the Middle East was established in Athens two years ago, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon were all represented. At last week's meeting in Cairo only Algeria and the United Arab Republic (Egypt and Syria) had representatives. I think it probable that most stayed away because they did not wish to become involved in the conflict between the Arab Republic and Iraq.

NON-ALIGNMENT

There are signs, however, that this division may be only temporary. President Nasser quarrelled with General Kassem because he held that Iraq was turning too far towards Russia and Communism (a charge which the British made against Cairo until a few months ago!). Now Kassem has made it clear that he plans to follow a Nehru-like policy of neutrality. On this basis Arab unity should be restored.

The National Union (the Government Coalition in the Arab Republic) was represented at our Cairo meeting. It endorsed unreservedly the declaration made for non-alignment with either of the two power blocs in the Mediterranean and Middle East, and for opposition to the establishment of military bases in any part of the region. This declaration could be made a gesture for reconciliation. If Iraq and the Arab Republic reached agreement, the door would be re-opened for wide Arab solidarity throughout North Africa and the Middle East.

In other respects, the Cairo Committee was representative. Members also attended from Greece, Yugoslavia, Italy and Britain. There was a great desire that co-operation should be developed with the movements in Africa and Asia. We met at the delightful headquarters of the Afro-Asia Solidarity Committee and it was decided to take steps to secure united action with the Accra All-Africa Peoples' Conference.

Our Policy Declaration included a section on "Solidarity with Africa" which welcomed the independence of Ghana and Guinea and the coming of independence of Nigeria, Somalia, the Cameroons and Togo, endorsed the demands of the African movements in East and Central Africa, and denounced apartheid in South Africa.

The next meeting of the Permanent Committee will be at Belgrade in October. It is hoped that the representation will then

include the series of Arab countries of North Africa and the Middle East as well as France, Malta and Cyprus in addition to the European countries represented at Cairo. The aim is to unite all the movements in the Mediterranean and Western Asia which stand for national freedom, including freedom from domination by either of the two power blocs.

I wished to go to Tunis because the Steering Committee of the All-Africa Peoples' Conference was meeting there. My Parliamentary colleague, Wedgwood Benn, chairman of the Mediterranean and Middle East Committee of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, was at Tunis and was able to have useful talks with the African leaders from the critical areas of Algeria and East and Central Africa.

CAIRO AND ACCRA

The All-Africa Peoples' Conference has also some difficulties to face. At the Accra Conference there was magnificent solidarity between all the movements on the Continent. The peoples of north, south, east, west and centre felt their cause was one and set before themselves the ultimate aim of the establishment of a United States of Africa. But there are organisational problems. Some of the movements tend to look to Cairo, some to Accra.

In Cairo I found offices of the Uganda National Congress and the African Congress of South Africa, as well as of groups from Kenya and other territories. The exiled Algerian Government is also in Cairo. It had been intended that the Steering Committee of the All-Africa Peoples' Conference should have met in Cairo rather than Tunis, but the British Colonial Governments would not provide visas.

Accra, on the other hand, has a greater appeal to "Black Africa." The independence of Ghana is an inspiration to all African peoples. Indeed, West Africa is becoming increasingly the region of hope.

The independence of Guinea has stirred the vast area of French West and Equatorial Africa. Nigeria's independence next year will have a profound effect on all Africa south of the Sahara, including resurgent Belgian Congo. West Africa will become more and more a magnet for the movements of independence.

DYNAMIC

It is fortunate that the Chairman of the All-Africa Peoples' Conference is Tom Mboya of Kenya. He has outstanding qualities and, coming from East Africa, he is in a position to balance any strains from North and West. We must all wish him well. The unity of Africa for freedom must over-ride all regional interests.

It was my first visit to Cairo. We were received with great generosity and friendliness. I was impressed by the genuineness of the revolution. Great estates have been broken up and land re-distributed widely to the peasants. There is an enthusiasm for Co-operative development. The people are self-reliant and have a sense of personal dignity. My deepest regrets were the continued detention of three thousand political prisoners and the absence, so far, of any readjustment of relations with Israel.

But the United Arab Republic is dynamic socially and psychologically. It is now a progressive force at a strategical point of great importance to Africa, Asia and the world. My expectation is that in the coming months this will be proved in both its domestic and foreign politics. We must co-operate to this end.

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MEETINGS

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"NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND THE THREAT OF WAR," SPGH public meeting, Co-op. Hall, 197, Mare Street, E.8. Monday, June 15, at 8 p.m. Admission Free.

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'PHOENIX' CAPTAIN WINS APPEAL

By Jim Peck

TEN days prior to the anniversary of the sailing of his yacht "Phoenix" from Honolulu, Earle Reynolds won his appeal from a six-month prison term imposed for entering the Pacific H-bomb testing area.

The decision, rendered on June 1 by the US Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco, was based on a technicality: that the trial judge, illegally, had refused Reynolds the right to act as his own attorney.

In basing its decision on this technicality the court averted a ruling on the basic issue: the constitutionality of the US Atomic Energy Commission's appropriating large areas of the high seas for testing nuclear weapons.

If the government wants to prosecute Reynolds further it must proceed to grant him a new trial in Honolulu. If not, the government could drop the case.

When the "Phoenix" was halted by the Coast Guard 65 miles inside the bomb-testing area, Reynold's wife, son and daughter and Niichi Mikami, a Japanese yachtsman, were aboard. However, Reynolds only was arrested. The "Phoenix" sailed from Honolulu a week after the "Golden Rule," which was stopped by the Coast Guard six miles out of Honolulu. The "Golden Rule's" five crewmen served 60-day sentences in Honolulu jail.

Pacifist in ward election battle

From DEREK WALKER

THE Queen's Park ward of Paddington will be the scene of a straight by-election contest between Labour and the Fellowship Party on June 18. The vacancy arose when a Labour councillor was made an alderman. Since Labour and Conservatives have a "gentleman's agreement" not to contest vacancies of this kind, there will be no Tory candidate.

The Fellowship Party will again be represented by Robert Walsh, a former Labour councillor.

"REFUGEE" is a word that slips too easily from the lips, and seldom links up with the imagination. To fly from persecution, political or religious, and seek refuge in another country, conjures up a vision of one or two persons, and possibly of a welcoming country absorbing these few unfortunate people into their own economy, and their own way of life.

But to-day "refugee" means something very different. In Europe alone millions of Jews, Austrians, Poles and Czechs who fled from Nazism have by no means all been absorbed into other countries, and there are over 100,000 who have been living in camps for more than fourteen years.

For those of us who have never known the utter insecurity of statelessness, the makeshift life of camping for anything longer than a few weeks, it is difficult to imagine the deadening effect of a futureless world.

In this small island emigrants once departed in their thousands to far off lands, escaping from poverty and unemployment, but seldom from persecution. Always "the silver sea" served "as a moat defensive" against the foreign invader, and for generations the people of this country have not known the awful necessity for flight.

Stop this horror, President Eisenhower

—APPEAL FROM OMAHA ACTION

OMAHA ACTION, the recently established US national committee, has written to President Eisenhower explaining its opposition to building missile bases, and asking for a discussion with him on the matter before action is taken at the base at Mead, Nebraska.

They point out that the threat of the "ultimate horror," implicit in America's military policies, is "self-nullifying through the fear and suspicion it creates and the like policies and methods it stimulates on the part of the Communist leaders of the USSR."

The writers therefore call for "the absolute renunciation of military force as a means of solving international conflict"—the only method "consistent with Christian and all humanitarian principles." The letter continues:

"Accordingly we conceive it our religious and patriotic duty not to remain passive spectators while the inhumane

measures of nuclear warfare are extended and intensified in our country, with all their sinister possibilities of total devastation and destruction not only of other helpless populations but of our own.

"In obedience to such beliefs and duties, we have issued a call to our fellow citizens to join us this June in opposing the building of Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile bases at the Mead, Nebraska, construction site. We desire to notify you of our purpose and to assure you that all action at the site will be taken in the spirit of non-violence.

"We believe that it is our democratic right and duty to engage in such non-violent action against what we believe to be wrong and dangerous policies of government. Some of our members may

engage in civil disobedience and in doing so will act in the spirit of Mohandas Gandhi and will willingly accept imprisonment.

"At the Mead ICBM and other bases—and wherever war preparations continue—indiscriminate suffering and nameless torture are being prepared for countless men, women and children in other lands and our own. We believe we have no

THEIR PROGRAMME

Here is the programme of Omaha Action, starting next Thursday:

June 18-19: Public meetings in Lincoln and Omaha.

June 20-21: Training sessions for participants, including leaflet distribution, conferences with public officials and opinion makers, and visitations to churches.

June 22-24: Walks from Lincoln and Omaha to the Mead ICBM construction site.

June 24-30: Vigil at the entrance of the ICBM base.

July 1-2: Direct action involving civil disobedience by some, while the vigil continues.

right, under any circumstances, to inflict this evil on humanity. Hence we cannot keep silent."

The letter is signed by Homer Jack, Chairman, and the two co-ordinators, A. J. Muste and Bradford Lyttle. Copies of the letter were also sent to Secretary of State Christian A. Herter and to Secretary of Defence Neil H. McElroy.

Literature available

A. J. Muste was recently in Omaha and Lincoln to make preparations, and the administrative and office headquarters were due to move last week from Chicago to Omaha.

The Chicago address is: Omaha Action, Post Office Box 9057, Chicago 90, Illinois.

The whole project until July 15 is expected to cost \$7,550, and contributions are still urgently needed.

Literature available from Omaha Action includes: Call to non-violent action against nuclear missile policy; Omaha Action Bulletin; Mass media fact sheet; An interpretative leaflet by A. J. Muste; and a literature list. All of these are free.

A short pamphlet, "This is the Missile," describing missiles and the weapons systems they are intended to comprise, is available at 15 cents, or 10 cents each for 100 or more.

afford to spend 15 thousand million pounds a year upon the means of total destruction, has donated the pitifully paltry sum of £100,000, but no doubt there will be other privately donated financial help forthcoming. Yet this country, "this blessed plot," has so much reason, out of sheer thankfulness for its own freedom from the grievous and lamentable problem, to hold out a helping hand.

It needs to be faced that all the help in the world will be a useless effort if the root reason is not even to be recognised, let alone tackled. Refugees are not an isolated phenomena; it is the bitter aftermath of war that has washed up these helpless, hopeless millions. War brings many evils whenever and wherever it is fought, and it seems sometimes to be overlooked that these tragic people are as much the victims of war as the dead and the wounded and the bereaved.

World Refugee Year should be concerned not only to salvage this pitiful human flotsam and jetsam, but to make a strong call to the world to see that it shall never happen again. Humanity and money are not enough; we must say "never again" to war.

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No compromise war resister goes to jail

NINE more months in prison started last week for one of the men jailed in January for obstructing work at the missile base near Swaffham, Norfolk.

William David Bell, 24, was sentenced at Lambeth for refusing to accept any compromise with the conscription laws. He declined to be conscripted for civilian work as an alternative to military training, and was interrupted by the magistrate, Mr. Humphrey Wightwick, when he attempted to explain why.

ANARCHIST-PACIFIST

Mr. Wightwick gave "the nature of the offence" as the reason for imprisoning a first offender.

David Bell is a well-known anarchist pacifist who has recently helped with others in preparing the new Peace News premises at King's Cross. In January his father died and he was released from Brixton jail after signing an undertaking to be of good behaviour, "especially towards the constables of Norfolk."



By Sybil Morrison

Humanity is not enough

There are 15 million refugees in the world to-day, or perhaps 20 million, or perhaps 24 million. Nobody knows. Europe entered World War II with 500,000 left over from World War I and the inter-war years had added the refugees from Nazism... and the million who fled from Franco's Spain. Of the 1,500,000 who fled to Hong Kong from the Chinese mainland a million remain in conditions of squalor. . . .

This fortress built by Nature for herself . . .

This precious stone set in a silver sea . . .

Or as a moat defensive to a house . . .

This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

Richard II. Act II. Scene I. William Shakespeare.

Freedom to live our own lives, to worship in what church we please, to read what we like, and educate our children as we think best; to have and maintain our own homes even if only one room in a city, or a tiny cottage in the country, with all the security that lies in the ability to plan for the future is simply taken for granted.

We know nothing of the cramping hopelessness of not belonging anywhere, or of the grief and pain of separation for ever from loved ones with no more news or knowledge of them. The sense of being uprooted is unknown to most Britishers, and the fact that after years of camp life, of idleness and of uncertainty, there is the

almost overwhelming difficulty of striking roots again.

The aim of the World Refugee Year is to focus attention on refugees, and to bring their plight before the eyes of those who might do something to help, either with money, or with willingness to integrate some in the countries where they have found refuge, or to encourage repatriation.

The dead hand of lack of hope has stricken these stateless human beings with inertia and apathy; they are many of them no longer competent, and perhaps not even willing, to make any effort to alter their dismal, dreary lives.

The British Government, which can